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New York

President: Mr. Essy . . . . . (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

Agenda item 9

General debate

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I should like to remind members of the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, held on 23 September, that congratulations should not be expressed inside the General Assembly Hall after a speech has been delivered.

In this connection, I would remind members of another decision taken by the Assembly at the same meeting: that speakers in the general debate, after delivering their statements, should leave the General Assembly Hall through room GA-200, located behind the podium, before returning to their seats.

I should also like to remind representatives that, in accordance with a decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, the list of speakers in the general debate will be closed on Wednesday, 28 September 1994, at 6 p.m. May I request delegations to be good enough to provide, as soon as possible, estimated speaking times that are as accurate as possible so that we can plan our meetings in an orderly way.

I now call on the first speaker in the general debate, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, His Excellency Mr. Celso Luis Nunes Amorim.

Mr. Amorim (Brazil) *(spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation)*: It is with great pleasure that I present my compliments to you, Mr. Amara Essy, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, and congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its current session.

I would also like to extend my recognition to Ambassador Samuel Insanally, who, as President of the Assembly at its forty-eighth session, dignified not only his own country, Guyana, but all the countries of the Amazon and South American region as well. I also greet the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to whom I convey my gratitude for the tireless efforts he has been undertaking at the head of this Organization.

The close of this century is marked by the force of transformation. In the last few years there has been prodigious change. This has been of such a radical nature that we could, like Hamlet, say that "The time is out of joint" *(Shakespeare, Hamlet, Act I, scene v)*. The process has been so fascinating that some have deluded themselves with the fantasy that the future is already under control. That is not the case. Transformation does not have a fixed, inexorable course. We must not allow ourselves to be enticed by hasty interpretations or by mere appearances. It is our responsibility to give meaning to change and to guide trends in accordance with the greater interests of the world community.

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It will be five years next November since the Berlin Wall crumbled. That period is sufficient for evaluating the distances that have been covered and, above all, for charting a course that will lead us to a safe harbour. The cold war took place under the sign of denial, a situation reflected even in the language that marked the period. The expressions that identified and explained almost 40 years of tense relationships denoted confrontation, exclusion or, at best, uncomfortable coexistence of opposites. The catchphrases of the day were "iron curtain", "containment" and "balance of terror".

Today we are in the midst of transition. Taking stock of these last few years, we can say that the results, though tenuous and imperfect, are positive. The cause of peace has made significant headway. Nuclear war has ceased to be an impending threat. Conflicts which many of us judged insoluble either have been or are in the process of being settled through dialogue and negotiation. In southern Africa and in the Middle East, steps of historic significance have been taken toward a more just and a more peaceful world. In Central America and in South-East Asia, progress is tangible. Throughout the greater part of our planet, the logic of confrontation is giving way to the logic of cooperation.

It is that very logic that we wish to see firmly established in our own region. Peace and fraternity are Latin America's vocation. We have been striving to bring the sister Republic of Cuba fully into the inter-American and international fold by means of a policy of outstretched hands, of dialogue and of rapprochement. Political, economic and commercial isolation, apart from being unjustifiable, only contributes to aggravating the hardship endured by the Cuban people at a time when we perceive positive indications of democratic reform and of reconciliation. Here too the stasis of confrontation must give way to the dynamics of dialogue, putting to rest this remnant of the cold war.

Given a set of entirely different characteristics, we are equally interested in promoting a lasting solution to the Haitian crisis, the return to office of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and national reconciliation. The diplomatic efforts of the international community, which we firmly support, must have as their point of reference the prompt removal of the de facto authorities by peaceful means - the only means to avoid even greater suffering for the Haitian people. We consider it disturbing that the principles of non-intervention and self-determination are the object of interpretations that are incompatible with the charters of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States. The gravity of the Haitian crisis and the urgency of the need to solve it do not make us unable to see the inherent risks of a situation that evokes traumas and scars that are still very vivid in the memory of Latin America. Once the legitimate Government is re-established, it will be the responsibility of the international community to provide Haiti with assistance in the daunting task of national reconstruction.

We are still far from universal peace. Conflicts of enormous cruelty shock the world and are the cause of unspeakable suffering for millions of human beings. Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina are emblematic tragedies of our times. The scenes of horror shown by the media attest to the difficulty of finding effective solutions to the imbalances which challenge all peoples. The intensification of migratory flows toward developed countries has been accompanied by an exacerbation of xenophobia and racial discrimination.

Critical situations continue to challenge the international community's ability to ensure peace and harmony. In Angola, a country so closely linked to Brazil by historic and cultural ties, we witness with pain and indignation the prolongation of a conflict that is the longest and most devastating civil war today. We are encouraged by the prospects that the negotiations under way in Lusaka between the Government of Angola and UNITA may be promptly concluded. In paying a tribute to President José Eduardo dos Santos for his political conduct, we urge UNITA to demonstrate a real commitment to stability and peace in the country, and we call upon all those with an influence on the Angolan crisis to do likewise.

We welcome the progress achieved in Mozambique. The process of national reconciliation will culminate in the general elections to be held next October, when the people of Mozambique will be able to choose, in free and fair elections, the government that will lead the country in this new era of its history. President Joaquim Chissano has played a central role in this process. Brazil takes pride in the fact that Brazilian troops are participating, through the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ), in the reconstruction of Mozambique.

In the case of East Timor, we have also noted positive signals in the negotiating process promoted by the Secretary-General, to whom we pay a tribute.

Democracy and the values associated with it are the greatest conquest of our time. We are experiencing an ethical revolution. The concern with human rights gains universality alongside a growing awareness of the imperative of public probity. The international context has ceased to be the exclusive domain of the *raison d'état* and has acquired a more human dimension directed to the welfare of the individual.

In the economic and commercial sphere, recent developments are also positive. After eight years of difficult negotiations within the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), we adopted the Marrakesh agreements. The World Trade Organization (WTO) will open up new and promising outlooks for the economic relationship among nations. Unilateralism and protectionism, derived from parochial interests, will lose any semblance of legitimacy.

The effective progress achieved cannot obscure the fact that there are challenges that continue to demand firm resolve from the international community.

The fundamental rights of individuals, despite having been incorporated into the realm of universally recognized values, still demand the firm and decided support of all those who believe in them.

The social conditions of the majority of the world's population continue to deteriorate. In the last 20 years, the gap has widened between rich and poor nations, between the millions of people who are adequately fed and educated and have a surplus for leisure and the billions who are struggling for survival. The pressures for migration toward the developed North and the many conflicts of the impoverished South are two sides of the same coin. Youth, in particular, continues to be a victim of deprivation and of a lack of prospects in most of the world.

The globalization of the economy and the strengthening of free trade have yet to demonstrate in practice their undeniable potential as factors of growth and well-being. Lingering protectionism, now draped in new colours, resists the assault of economic rationality. The positive impact of the Marrakesh agreements is under substantial threat from new conditionalities that will have a restrictive effect on the flows of international trade. Issues that are in themselves legitimate, such as the protection of the environment and universally accepted labour standards, cannot and should not serve as pretexts for even greater barriers to the access of goods produced in poor countries to the markets of wealthier nations. The cost of readjustment of the most prosperous economies cannot be shunted onto the shoulders of those who possess little or nothing.

The mastery of technology is a major watershed between industrialized and developing countries. The difficulties in access to advanced technologies are an obstacle to overcoming the disadvantages of developing countries, reducing their competitiveness and creating barriers to the transformation of productive processes. The new international division of labour cannot re-enact past formulas that have proved to be inefficient. The competitive integration of developing countries into the world economy must build upon dynamic comparative advantages, not static ones, with an increasing integration of knowledge into the productive process. Alongside the indispensable internal efforts of each country, such a qualitative leap requires an international environment based on cooperation.

In order to consolidate peace and ensure that the progress already achieved shall be irreversible, we must be able to develop a vision for our future, an attainable and forward-looking Utopia. Brazil is convinced that a truly new order must be based on a pluralistic and democratic perspective on international relations.

We do not contend unrealistically that States and other international players will refrain from affirming their specific and often conflicting interests. The fact is that we all stand to gain, and our interests will be better served, once the basic aspirations of the great majority have been reasonably satisfied.

Interdependence must be understood in an integrated way, and not merely as the expression of a market-economy phenomenon. It presupposes the political ability to act in coordination with others toward the fulfilment of objectives shared by all mankind. In an interdependent world the improvement of living conditions in a poor country may have an impact on the creation of jobs in a developed nation. The integration of those that are excluded and the promotion of participation by all in world affairs is not only a moral obligation, but, first and foremost, a demonstration of lucid judgement.

The fundamental commitment to development is the cornerstone of the order to which Brazil aspires. This concept has the advantage of encompassing the essential needs of all nations, large and small, rich and poor. Development reinforces freedom, invests the dignity of man with a concrete dimension, stresses efficiency,

promotes stability and enhances democracy. Development builds peace.

The promotion of development stands to benefit from the lessons of the past. We must formulate a concept of development that recognizes each country as the main actor in creating its own prosperity, while incorporating the various features of its international dimension in the fields of trade, investment and flows of technology.

A renewed international effort in favour of development will be successful only under an active and mutually advantageous partnership between the countries of the North and those of the South. Advancement of the interests of the richer nations requires their involvement in efforts to overcome the backwardness of the less prosperous. To hold the opposite view would be tantamount to believing that a fire in our neighbour's house cannot reach over the fence into our own. In short, it is an absurdity the price of which even the wealthiest cannot afford.

The nations of the world have a fundamental role to play in the construction of an open and equitable international system.

We must undertake a profound reformulation of the United Nations performance in promoting development. No other task under the United Nations mandate will more adequately support and promote peace and establish a just and stable order.

We must avoid the crystallization of an undesirable division of labour between the United Nations on the one hand and the Bretton Woods institutions on the other. Peace and development constitute an indivisible whole and must support each other. This great forum cannot be kept outside decisions on matters arising from objectives inscribed in its very Charter.

These concerns have been at the root of the launching of the Agenda for Development, in which Brazilian diplomacy has been deeply involved.

Several United Nations Conferences, some having already taken place, others yet to come, are significantly contributing to shedding light upon the need for a comprehensive and coordinated consideration of the development issue. In one way or another, development was a central concern, or will continue to be so, in Rio de Janeiro at the Conference on Environment and Development, in Vienna at the Conference on Human Rights, and in Cairo at the Conference on Population and Development, and it will continue to be so in the forthcoming meetings in Copenhagen on Social Development, and in Beijing, on Women. Awareness of the fact that the decisions reached at these encounters will produce effective results only if all these issues are examined in an integrated fashion is becoming increasingly firm and universal.

With a view to fostering a debate on all such issues in a wider conceptual framework, the Brazilian Government proposes the convening of a United Nations conference on development, possibly in 1996, which would seek to synthesize the initiatives and programmes designed to promote human dignity and well-being.

Democracy should be the rule for political relations within and among States. To bring democracy into politics and international relations is a goal which can be turned into reality. The strengthening of the role of the General Assembly and the expansion of the Security Council, with the participation of developing countries in all member categories are important and necessary steps on the road to democratization and greater legitimacy.

Like other Member States, we favour a reform of the Security Council that will increase its effectiveness. We understand that such effectiveness will be ensured only by a composition truly representative of the world community. At the beginning of this month the Heads of State and Government of the 14 nations from Latin America and the Caribbean which form the Group of Rio met in Rio de Janeiro and stated that

> "in accordance with their legal tradition and their contribution to the cause of peace, the Latin American and Caribbean region must be included in any expansion of the Security Council".

Brazil has participated actively in the debate on the expansion of the Security Council. We have clearly stated our readiness to assume all responsibilities required of countries eligible to occupy permanent seats.

Elected to the Security Council for the current period, Brazil has lived up to its responsibilities. We have based our positions on respect for principles such as non-intervention, as well as on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States; we have consistently favoured peaceful and negotiated solutions to conflicts, as well as consensus; we have stood by the rule of law in safeguarding the international public order; we have risen

in defence of human rights and fundamental freedoms; and we have increasingly participated in peace-keeping operations in several regions of the globe.

As part of Latin America, we are proud of sharing its long history of peace. Latin America is the least armed region of the world and the only one to have become, by virtue of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, definitively free from nuclear weapons. Cuba's adherence to the Treaty, announced in a letter from President Fidel Castro to President Itamar Franco - in response to a Brazilian initiative - has brought this process to a conclusion.

Latin America has been a factor of international stability in a turbulent world. Our legal tradition, built through decades of efforts to regulate inter-American relations, represents a relevant contribution to the international community. As pioneers in the promotion of disarmament, we feel entitled to seek equivalent gestures from the entire international community, and in particular from the nuclear-weapon States. In this context, we attribute special significance to the prompt adoption, through multilaterally negotiated commitments, of effective measures to reduce, and not merely control, their arsenals, including sensitive nuclear material such as plutonium. It is likewise imperative that negotiations on a comprehensive test-ban treaty be successfully concluded, leading to signature.

Brazil is ready to join in the construction of a new international agenda based on universal participation and cooperation for peace and development.

This readiness derives from our own identity. We are a pluralist and open society, having emerged from the meeting of different cultures and ways of life, which in turn produced a new culture and way of life, founded on tolerance and understanding. We enjoy peacefully defined borders with 10 neighbouring countries, and an absence of conflicts for more than 120 years.

Forged through dialogue, conciliation and peaceful reform, Brazilian society is experiencing a moment of intense democratic affirmation under the leadership of President Itamar Franco. In a few days we shall be holding the largest elections in our country's history. Nearly 100 million voters will cast their ballots, in an atmosphere of absolute freedom, to choose their representatives in the executive and legislative branches at the State and federal levels from as many as 35,000 candidates.

Ours is one of the most diversified economies in the southern hemisphere. As we head toward economic stability, with a strong currency, conditions become favourable for the resumption of a sustained process of economic growth which will undoubtedly place Brazil once again among the most dynamic economies in the world.

We have made important advances in increasing the exposure of our economy to world trade. As of next January, we will have brought into force a common external tariff, along with Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay, and will have consolidated a Customs Union capable of generating growth and prosperity, one of the first customs unions among developing countries. The interest expressed by other South American countries in joining MERCOSUR - Common Market of the South - provides ample proof that the vision of a South American free trade area is gradually materializing. These accomplishments represent a telling example of the enterprising capacity of Latin American nations, and constitute a fundamental step toward a harmonious and integrated South America.

Our efforts in developing political and economic cooperation go well beyond Latin America. In line with the universal inspiration of our diplomacy, we have set out to reinforce the ties that associate us to friendly nations in all regions of the globe, as well as to expand into new and important political and commercial partnerships. Such actions range from the intensification of traditional relations within our hemisphere and with industrialized countries to new and creative formulas for cooperating with countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. In all cases, we have tried to raise the dialogue to increasingly higher levels and, in many instances, have succeeded in establishing dynamic and privileged relationships.

The ties between Brazil and African nations have been strengthened through the action taken to give structure to the community of Portuguese-speaking countries. This new and important forum will unite our brothers and sisters on different continents and lead to even greater understanding and cooperation.

Beginning in the South Atlantic which we share, we intend to expand the horizons of cooperation between America and Africa, with the added strength, in the political and moral spheres, brought about by the election of Nelson Mandela in the new South Africa.

The zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic will transform this area into a zone free of nuclear weapons, constituting an example of solidarity and brotherhood between two continents. With this objective in mind, the 24 countries that make up this forum have just met in Brasilia, with very encouraging results for friendship between Africa and South America.

Brazil desires for itself what it desires for each and every other nation. We know that there can be no happiness and prosperity in the midst of strife and misfortune. Together with the family of nations, Brazil, which does not countenance any form of hegemony, seeks to move forward in a spirit of confidence toward the creation of a world order responsive to the aspirations for democracy, stability, disarmament and respect for the sovereignty of States and a world order committed to development.

Address by Mr. William Clinton, President of the United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the United States of America.

Mr. William Clinton, President of the United States of America, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the United States of America, His Excellency, Mr. William Clinton, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Clinton: Let me first congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election as President of the General Assembly for its forty-ninth session. The American people look forward to working with you to celebrate the United Nations fiftieth anniversary.

We meet today at a time of great hope and change. The end of the cold war, the explosion of technology and trade and enterprise have given people the world over new opportunities to live up to their dreams and their God-given potential. This is an age of hope -yet in this new world, we face a contest as old as history.

It is a struggle between freedom and tyranny; between tolerance and bigotry; between knowledge and ignorance; between openness and isolation. It is a fight between those who would build free societies governed by laws and those who would impose their will by force.

Our struggle today - in a world more high-tech, more fast-moving, more chaotically diverse than ever - is the age-old fight between hope and fear.

Three times in this century - from the trenches of the Somme to the island of Iwo Jima to the shattered Wall in Berlin - the forces of hope were victorious. But the victors of the First World War squandered their triumph when they turned inward, bringing on a global depression, and allowing fascism to rise and reignite global war.

After the Second World War, the Allies learned the lesson of the past. In the face of a new totalitarian threat and the nuclear menace, great nations did not walk away from the challenge of the moment. Instead they chose to reach out, to rebuild and to lead. They chose to create the United Nations and they left us a world stronger, safer and freer.

Our generation has a difficult task: the cold war is over. We must secure the peace. It falls to us to avoid the complacency that followed the First World War - without the spur of the imminent threat to our security that followed the Second World War.

We must ensure that those who fought and found the courage to end the cold war - those from both East and West who loved freedom - did not labour in vain. Our sacred mission is to build a new world for our children - more democratic, more prosperous, more free of ancient hatreds and modern means of destruction.

That is no easy challenge; but we accept it with confidence. After all, the walls that once divided nations in this very Hall have come down. More nations have chosen democracy than ever before. More have chosen free markets and economic justice. More have embraced the values of tolerance and liberty and civil society that allow us all to make the most of our lives.

But while the ideals of democracy and free markets are ascendant, they are surely not the whole story. Terrible examples of chaos, repression and tyranny also mark our times. The twentieth century has proved that the forces of freedom and democracy can endure against great odds; our job is to see that in the twenty-first century these forces triumph.

The dangers we face are less stark and more diffuse than those of the cold war, but they are still formidable: the ethnic conflicts that drive millions from their homes; the despots ready to repress their own people or conquer their neighbours; the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; the terrorists wielding their deadly arms; the criminal syndicates selling those arms, or drugs, infiltrating the very institutions of fragile democracies; a global economy that offers great promise but also deep insecurity, and in many places declining opportunity; diseases like AIDS that threaten to decimate nations; the combined dangers of population explosion and economic decline, which prompted the world community to reach the remarkable consensus at the Cairo Conference; global and local environmental threats that demand that sustainable development become a part of the lives of people all around the world; and, finally, within many of our nations, high rates of drug abuse and crime and family breakdown, with all their terrible consequences. These are the dangers we face today.

We must address these threats to our future. Thankfully, the end of the cold war gives us a chance to address them together. In our efforts, different nations may be active in different situations in different ways, but their purposes must be consistent with freedom and their practices consistent with international law. Each nation will bring to our common task its own particular strengths - economic, political or military.

Of course, the first duty of every Member of the United Nations is to its own citizens, to their security, their welfare and their interests. As President of the United States, my first duty is to the citizens of my country. When our national security interests are threatened, we will act with others when we can, but alone if we must. We will use diplomacy when we can, but force if we must.

The United States recognizes that we also have a special responsibility in these common endeavours that we are undertaking, the responsibility that goes along with great power and also with our long history of democracy and freedom. But we seek to fulfil that responsibility in cooperation with other nations. Working together increases the impact and the legitimacy of each of our actions, and sharing the burdens lessens everyone's load. We have no desire to be the world's policeman, but we will do what we can to help civil societies emerge from the ashes of repression, to sustain fragile democracies, to add more free markets to the world, and of course to restrain the destructive forces that threaten us all.

In every corner of the globe, from South Africa to Asia, to Central and Eastern Europe, to the Middle East and Latin America, and now to a small island in the Caribbean, ordinary citizens are striving to build their own future. Promoting their cause is our generation's great opportunity, and we must do it together. A coalition for democracy is good for America. Democracies, after all, are more likely to be stable, less likely to wage war; they strengthen civil society and can provide people with the economic and political opportunities to build their futures in their own homes - not to flee their borders.

Our efforts to help build more democracies will make us all more secure, more prosperous and more successful as we try to make this era of terrific change our friend, and not our enemy. In my nation, as in all of your nations, there are many people who are understandably reluctant to undertake these efforts because often the distances are great or the cultures are different. There are good reasons for the caution that people feel. Often, the chances of success or its costs are unclear. And, of course, in every common endeavour there is always the potential for failure and often the risk of loss of life.

And yet our people - as we have seen in the remarkable global response to the terrible crisis in Rwanda - genuinely want to help their neighbours around the world and to make some effort in our common cause. We have seen that progress can be made as well. The problem is deciding when we must respond and how we shall overcome our reluctance. This will never be easy. There are no simple formulas. All of us will make these decisions in part based on the distance of the problem from our shores, the interests of our nation, the difference we think we can make, the costs required, or the threat to our own citizens in the endeavour.

Hard questions will remain, and cannot be erased by some simple formula. But we should have the confidence that these efforts can succeed, whether they are efforts to keep people alive in the face of terrible tragedy, as in Rwanda, or our efforts to avert a tragedy, as in the Horn of Africa, or our efforts to support processes that are literally changing the future of millions. History is on our side. We should have confidence about this. Look at the march of freedom we have seen in the last year alone. Who, a decade ago, would have dared predict the startling changes in South Africa, in the Middle East and in Ireland; the stunning triumph of democracy and majority rule and the redemption of the purpose of

Nelson Mandela's life; the brave efforts of Israel and its Arab neighbours to build bridges of peace between their peoples; the earnest search by the people of Northern Ireland and Great Britain and Ireland to end centuries of division and decades of terror? In each case, credit belongs to those nations' leaders and their courageous people. But in each instance the United States and other nations were privileged to help in these causes.

The growth of cooperation between the United States and the Russian Federation also should give us all great cause for confidence. This is a partnership that is rooted in democracy, a partnership that is working, a partnership of, not complete agreement, but genuine mutual respect. After so many years of nuclear terror, our two nations are taking dramatic steps to ease tensions around the world. For the first time since the Second World War, foreign troops do not occupy the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The Baltic nations are free. Russian and American missiles no longer target each other's people. Three of the four nuclear members of the former Soviet Union have agreed to remove all nuclear weapons from their soil. And we are working on agreements to halt production of fissile materials for nuclear explosives; to make dismantling of nuclear warheads transparent and irreversible; and further to reduce our nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles.

The United States and Russia also recognize that we must cooperate to control the emerging danger of terrorists who traffic in nuclear materials. To secure nuclear materials at their sources, we have agreed with Russia to stop plutonium production by the year 2000; to construct a storage facility for fissile materials and buy up stocks of weapons-grade fuel; and to combat the criminals who are trying to smuggle materials for nuclear explosives. Our two nations and Germany have increased cooperation and engaged in joint anti-terrorist training. Soon, under the leadership of our Federal Bureau of Investigation, we will open a law enforcement training academy in Europe, where police will learn how to combat more effectively trafficking of nuclear weapons components, as well as the drug trade, organized crime and money laundering.

The United States will also advance a wide-ranging non-proliferation agenda: a global convention to halt production of fissile materials; efforts to curb North Korea's nuclear ambitions; transparent procedures for dismantling nuclear warheads; and our work to ban testing and to extend the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. And today I am proposing a first step toward the eventual elimination of a less visible but still deadly threat: the world's 85 million anti-personnel land-mines - one for every 50 persons on the face of the earth. I ask all nations concerned to join with us and conclude an agreement to reduce the number and availability of those mines. Ridding the world of those often hidden weapons will help to save the lives of tens of thousands of men, women and innocent children in the years to come.

Our progress in the last year also provides confidence that in the post-cold-war years we can adapt and construct global institutions that will help to provide security and increase economic growth throughout the world. Since I spoke here last year, 22 nations have joined the Partnership for Peace of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The first joint exercises have been conducted, helping to give Europe the chance to become a more unified continent in which democratic nations live within secure borders. In Asia, security talks and economic cooperation will lead to further stability. By reducing nations' fears about their borders and allowing them to spend less on military defences, our coalition for democracy can give nations in transition a better chance to offer new freedoms and opportunities to their own people. It is time that we think anew about the structures of this global economy as well, tearing down walls that separate nations instead of hiding behind them.

At the Group of Seven meeting at Naples this year we committed ourselves to this task of renewal, to re-examining the economic institutions that have served us so well in the past. In the interests of shared prosperity, the United States actively promotes open markets. Though still in its infancy, the North American Free Trade Agreement has dramatically increased trade between the United States and Mexico and has produced in the United States alone an estimated 200,000 new jobs. It offers a model to nations throughout the Americas which we hope to build on. And this week I will send legislation to the Congress to implement the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the largest trade agreement in all of history. GATT - and its successor, the World Trade Organization - holds the promise for all of us of increased exports, higher wages and improved living standards. In the months and years to come we will work no less to extend the reach of open markets, starting with the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Council and the Summit of the Americas later this year.

Here at the United Nations we must develop a concrete plan to meet the challenges of the next 50 years

even as we celebrate the last 50 years. I believe we should declare next year's fiftieth anniversary not just a year of celebration but a year of renewal. We call on the Secretary-General to name a working group so that by the time we meet next year we will have a concrete action plan to revitalize the obligations of the United Nations to address the security, economic and political challenges ahead - obligations we must all be willing to assume.

Our objectives should include ready, efficient and capable United Nations peace-keeping forces, and I am happy to report that, as I pledged last year and thanks to support in the United States Congress, $1.2 billion is now available from the United States for this critical account.

We must also pledge to keep United Nations reform moving forward so that we do more with less, and we must improve our ability to respond to urgent needs. Let me suggest that it is time for the members of the Assembly to consider seriously President Menem's suggestion for the creation of a civilian rapid-response capability for humanitarian crises.

And let us not lose sight of the special role that development and democracy can play in preventing conflicts once peace has been established. Never before has the United Nations been in a better position to achieve the democratic goals of our founders. The end of the cold war has freed us from decades of paralysing divisions. And we all know that multilateral cooperation is not only necessary to address the new threats we face but possible to succeed.

The efforts we have undertaken together in Haiti are a prime example. Under the sponsorship of the United Nations, American troops, now being joined by the personnel of an ever-growing international coalition of over two dozen nations, are giving the people of Haiti their chance at freedom. Creative diplomacy, the influence of economic power and the credible threat of military force - all have contributed to this moment of opportunity. Essential civil order will be restored. Human rights violations will be curbed. The first refugees will be returning within hours, on this day. The military leaders will step down. The democratic Government will be restored. President Aristide will return. The multinational mission will turn its responsibilities over to the United Nations mission, which will remain in Haiti throughout 1995, until a new president is elected. During this time a multinational development effort will make available more than $1 billion to begin helping the Haitians rebuild their country. In the spirit of reconciliation and reconstruction, President Aristide yesterday called for the immediate easing of sanctions so that the work of rebuilding can begin immediately. Accordingly, I intend to act expeditiously, within Security Council resolutions 917 (1994) and 940 (1994) to enable us to restore health care, water and electrical services, construction materials for humanitarian efforts, and communications, agricultural and educational materials.

Today I am also announcing that the United States will suspend all unilateral sanctions against Haiti except those that affect the military leaders and their immediate supporters. This will include regularly scheduled air flights when the airport becomes available, financial transactions and travel restrictions. I urge all other nations to do the same.

In Haiti, the United States has demonstrated that it would lead a multinational force when our interests are plain, when the cause is right, when the mission is achievable and the nations of the world stand with us. But Haiti's people will have to muster the strength and the patience to travel the road of freedom. They have to do this for themselves. Every new democratic nation is fragile. But we will see the day when the people of Haiti fulfil their aspirations to liberty and when they are once again making genuine economic progress.

United Nations actions in Bosnia, like those in Haiti, demonstrate that progress can be made when a coalition backs up diplomacy with military power. For the first time ever, NATO has taken, since we met last year, military actions beyond the territory of its members. The threat of NATO air power helped to establish the exclusion zone around Sarajevo and to end the Bosnian Serbs' spring offensive against Gorazde. NATO's February ultimatum boosted our mediation efforts, which helped to end the war between the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Croats and forged a federation between those two communities. To that extent the situation in Bosnia has improved, but in recent weeks the situation around Sarajevo has deteriorated substantially, and Sarajevo once again faces the prospect of strangulation. A new resolve by the United Nations to enforce its resolutions is now necessary to save Sarajevo, and NATO stands ready to act.

The situation in Bosnia is yet another reminder of the greatest irony of this century we are leaving. This century, so full of hope and opportunity and achievement, has also been an age of deep destruction and despair. We cannot help but remember the millions who gave

their lives during two world wars and the half century of struggle by men and women in the East and West who ultimately prevailed in the name of freedom.

But we must also think of our children and the world we will leave them in the twenty-first century. History has given us a very rare opportunity - the chance to build on the greatest legacy of this century without reliving its darkest moments. And we have shown that we can carry forward humanity's ancient quest for freedom to build a world where democracy knows no borders but where nations know their borders will always be secure, a world that gives all people the chance to realize their potential and to live out their dreams.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the United States of America for the statement he has just made.

Mr. William Clinton, President of the United States of America, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Carlos Salinas de Gortari, President of the United Mexican States

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the United Mexican States.

Mr. Carlos Salinas de Gortari, President of the United Mexican States, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the United Mexican States, His Excellency Mr. Carlos Salinas de Gortari, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Salinas de Gortari *(interpretation from Spanish)*: It is a great pleasure to attend the beginning of this forty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Now that the threat of global war is receding and local conflicts are proliferating, the untiring efforts undertaken by Boutros Boutros-Ghali on behalf of peace are increasingly arduous and deserve our deepest appreciation.

My congratulations go also to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, Amara Essy, who is serving as President of this important session of the Assembly.

During its first half-century, the United Nations promoted highly important diplomatic negotiations, prevented disputes between nations, fostered the settlement of regional controversies and prevented global conflicts. It also encountered serious limitations - and was, at times, close to paralysis - in the attainment of its ends. Its achievements and limitations alike have reflected the world power structure prevailing since 1945, as well as the efforts of its Members: countries that are equal and sovereign but diverse in their beliefs, cultural expressions, geographical endowments and levels of development.

The United Nations is a child of its times, of the period following the Second World War. It was born with a mission to work for world peace and security and for development. At that time, peace meant avoiding the nuclear conflagration toward which the bipolar arms race had been sweeping us since the 1950s. Global security then meant avoiding the escalation of peripheral conflicts into which the nuclear Powers could be drawn. At that time also, world development depended on financing for recovery and, therefore, on the recycling of resources by the victorious Powers, which were net exporters of capital, in the form, very often, of "international aid". That peace, that security and that concept of development are no longer with us.

Today, without the bipolar balance of power and faced with the intense financial competition and the regional ethnic and religious conflicts of recent years, we recognize that there are other ways in which the United Nations should promote peace, security and development, as set forth in its founding Charter. Now, at the end of another war - the cold war - it is time to recognize a new content in the objectives of our world Organization and new conditions for providing deep-rooted, lasting responses to the aspirations for justice and well-being shared by all mankind.

What kinds of peace, development and solidarity are required at the end of this century? Today internationalization of the economy is increasingly pronounced and the cultural plurality of nations is being manifested by the heightening of tensions in relations between groups, countries and regions. The major dilemmas of our times therefore stem from profound complexities in the economic and political spheres and in the opportunities open to all peoples to attain a decent standard of living. Thus, it is essential to find and apply new solutions to the problems resulting from the end of the bipolar confrontation and from the new economic

contests between powerful regions, whose effects sometimes have an even greater impact on nations remote from these centres of finance and trade. Today the answers lie not in weapons, but in the will to build consensus; not in interference, but in the ability to coordinate development policies within a framework of fair competition, ruled by standards recognized by all participants.

In building up new hope, we must unquestionably persevere in our efforts to eradicate the nuclear threat and the risks posed by chemical and biological weapons and the arms race. Mexico has always taken part in contributing to reducing those dangers. My country is pleased at the recent accession by Argentina, Brazil and Chile to the Treaty of Tlatelolco, and by the forthcoming accession announced by Cuba, which fulfil the Latin American ideal of inhabiting a nuclear-weapon-free region. We should now continue the negotiations on, and put into effect, the comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and the Convention on chemical weapons, signed in January 1993 and thus far ratified by a mere 14 States.

But this is not sufficient. In the political sphere, we face the challenge of keeping the peace while maintaining respect for the sovereignty of nations and for their cultural diversity and political plurality, which, far from succumbing to interference or being diluted into uniformity, demand their own spaces, both within our countries and within the United Nations. Faced with a painful experience in Chiapas, in the south of our country, Mexico turned the armed challenge with which we were confronted on 1 January into political dialogue 10 days later; it listened carefully to the voices of the neediest and committed itself to finding a political way to solve their problems through dialogue and in freedom, instead of attempting to crush the uprising, as was the custom throughout the world during the cold-war period. This is the spirit of political dialogue and peace with honour required by the new era; this is the path of new hope.

The world has certainly seen many achievements in recent times. Mexico welcomes the progress made in negotiations leading to lasting peace in various parts of the world, especially in the Middle East. It would also like to express, once again, its satisfaction at the end of apartheid in South Africa and at the establishment of a democratic Government in that country.

Mexico will continue its enthusiastic and unwavering support for the peace processes in Central America and congratulates the parties involved, which are making progress along the path of dialogue and negotiation. As a member of the group of countries that are friends of the Secretary-General, Mexico has taken part in the efforts to arrange direct talks to put an end to conflicts between Latin American sister countries. That is precisely the path that might be followed, through the dialogue reopened regarding illegal migration, to put an end to the longstanding differences in the hemisphere between the United States and Cuba, within a framework of full respect for the sovereignty and the right self-determination of the Cuban people.

With regard to the crisis in Haiti, Mexico reiterates its commitment to the re-establishment of the constitutional and democratic order. It also reiterates the need to give preference to peaceful and diplomatic means above all others, as well as to foster specific forms of cooperation to ensure better living standards for the Haitian people, for without them democratic institutions will be weak and short-lived.

The use of force and the threat of its use, when world peace is not in danger, are no longer valid means for sovereign nations to achieve their goals. What are needed instead are economic exchanges, political dialogue and a common willingness to recognize and respect one another, unconditionally and without exception. With that willingness, which will benefit us all because it commits us all, we can undertake thorough reforms of international organizations, and in particular of the United Nations. Recognition of plurality, respect for sovereignty and the reaching of consensual accords are also bases on which the United Nations can construct new forms of cooperation and technical assistance aimed at consolidating democracy and at achieving the effective protection of human rights.

As a form of political organization of peoples, democracy is certainly the best way to facilitate development with justice; it is also the system which best guarantees respect for human rights. For the civil and political rights recognized by the vast majority of the Members of our Organization to be fully effective, economic conditions in which all individuals can develop their potential are required. Hunger and unemployment, drug-trafficking and the depletion of natural resources, forced migrations and new forms of trade protectionism impair development and the full exercise of human rights and hinder the democratic participation of individuals in shaping their own destinies. Therefore, coordinated action by nations to deal with these grave problems of our times can help to broaden political participation and

ensure better conditions to improve well-being and provide for the protection of human rights.

The efforts made thus far by the United Nations in this field - such as the creation of the post of High Commissioner for human rights - are notable but still insufficient. Reconsidering the question of the defence of human rights and the strengthening of democracy also involves reconsidering the issue of development on the basis of fair access to markets, capital and new technologies. It is not by chance that democratic stability flourishes where there is economic stability and growth; nor is it by chance that more human rights violations occur where the population is prey to poverty, illiteracy and disease. Making progress in democracy and respect for human rights requires new efforts to eradicate inequalities between individuals, groups, peoples and nations.

In the economic sphere, we are facing both the challenges and the opportunities posed by interdependence and globalization. We must now make progress in the harmonization of financial, technological and production policies within the world economy in order to achieve generalized growth. We are well aware that the development of the most industrialized nations may prove to be insufficient without sustained growth in the developing countries. In the coming years the most important growth of markets for the products of industrialized nations will occur in the developing countries. We know, too, that aid may prove to be ineffective and insufficient, when the basic need is to move toward equality of opportunities worldwide by opening markets to the products of developing countries.

In the past few years the world has undergone a transition toward a liberalization of trade that is unprecedented in modern history. This movement toward true globalization, in which a large number of developing countries are participating for the first time, is indicative of the renewed confidence of nations in their capacity to compete and gain integration into world markets. This new liberalization is also a reason for us to feel optimistic that freer trade will contribute to the eradication of poverty. More trade will translate into more and better jobs.

Nevertheless, there are still obstacles that must be overcome: we must be wary of new protectionist trends; we must recognize that the new financial resources are still insufficient for the needs of the developing countries and that many of those countries continue to experience less favourable terms of trade as well as instability in interest rates. The challenge we face is to eliminate conditions that impede the free circulation of goods and services, that limit the creation of jobs and produce growing migration, that exacerbate xenophobic attitudes and that stand in the way of world recovery.

To that end, we must consolidate the present opening of markets to competition. No instrument will be of greater assistance in attaining that goal than the launching of the World Trade Organization, which will complement the Bretton Woods institutions. It is essential for us first to guarantee that the results of the Uruguay Round are ratified by countries that have not yet done so, and subsequently to ensure the effective functioning of the new world-trade system.

Today, it is essential to maintain and expand large free-trade areas and, in the new organization of world trade, to build new forms of coordination and cooperation so that free-trade areas will act as an impetus rather than an obstacle to world trade. As progress is made in trade agreements and treaties, it is imperative to recognize the asymmetries between nations and to avoid conditioning trade on such matters as labour and environmental issues, which, although legitimate aspects of trade, can be used artificially to conceal new forms of protectionism. These actions comprise the major tasks on our economic agenda for the end of this century.

In the sphere of social justice - an element essential to peace - there is in the world a long-standing social debt still to be paid. If we fail to pay it, it will be utopian to think of progress in democracy or any widespread and enduring peace and security. To settle that debt, the United Nations must grant clear priority to development and cooperation within a framework of multilateral action, rather than giving priority to actions backed by arms to maintain security. We have before us the opportunity to reorder our priorities as we deal at this forty-ninth session of the General Assembly with the topic of a new Agenda for Development, and thereby to move toward lasting peace based on comprehensive, balanced worldwide development.

Fully achieving development also presupposes the sustainable use of natural resources and the maintenance of the fragile balance of ecosystems that are frequently overexploited, resulting in the impoverishment of those living under such systems. Here, the Agenda drawn up by the United Nations at the historic summit in Rio de Janeiro continues to be more an aspiration than a reality. It is imperative to move on from words to deeds. In next

year's summit on social development, there will be a new opportunity to respond to this link between environment and development, which is essentially one of justice.

In brief, we need a major cultural change based on a simple truth: political pluralism within countries and among nations is not a hypothesis; it is a reality that defines and characterizes all human groups. Consequently, Mexico stresses its opposition to illusory assumptions that sovereignty is a vanishing concept. The globalization of the economy, an undeniable fact in our times, must be reconciled with the existence of diverse and sovereign nations whose status and will to exist cannot be denied, much less violated, without seriously jeopardizing peace.

Only on the basis of recognizing and respecting pluralism will we be able to implant new and better world mechanisms for coordinating economic matters to achieve a better distribution of capital, technology and joint forms of production. Only on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of each nation and the right of all peoples to self-determination will we be able to build a broader and more enduring political consensus. Only on the basis of this awareness and of renewed solidarity will we be able to sustain action aimed at achieving effective justice in social matters.

With this approach to the future, we will be able to address existing imbalances by taking shared responsibility for just and civilized coexistence. In brief, it is a question of adopting and recognizing pluralism as an expression of freedom, and justice as an essential prerequisite for security in the coexistence of nations.

In Mexico, this approach is called social liberalism. It has served as a guide for the changes that we have undertaken to respond appropriately to the challenges of our times. A product of our history and of our shared universal aspiration to justice, social liberalism has led us to undertake far-reaching democratic reform, changes in our economic structures, a frontal attack on poverty, and a new linkage between Mexico and the world. We are forging a reformed State that depends not on its size but on its effectiveness in achieving, with freedom, conditions of greater justice.

In 1990 I spoke to this Assembly about the objectives of Mexican change. Today we have results that strengthen our hopes and give us a better understanding of world challenges. From social liberalism comes the difficult but gratifying task of building new forms of political consensus to make progress in democracy; from it come the enormous efforts made to correct our macroeconomic imbalances and improve the competitiveness of our country; from it too stems the consolidation of our Programme of Solidarity to benefit those who have least; from it come our efforts to make environmental protection a component of development; and from it come our economic diversification abroad, our entry into organizations such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, the establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement and similar agreements within Latin America, and our membership of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, in which new forms of international agreement and cooperation are being developed.

Recently, Mexico's federal elections proved to be an enriching democratic experience. More than 36 million citizens participated in the elections, which is to say, more than 77 per cent of registered voters. They were the elections most closely monitored by political parties, national observers and international visitors in our history. The Mexican people opted for legality and peace. Here, I wish to express my gratitude for the technical support provided by the Secretariat of the United Nations, at the request of the Mexican Government, in training and advising groups of Mexican election observers.

Today it is no longer possible to pursue peace, security and development as isolated goals, whether in the international order or at the national level. The new world balance calls for new mentalities and new priorities: a reordering of international realities in accordance with rules agreed upon on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of each nation and recognition of the pluralities of peoples. The new vision turns differences into opportunities, opposing views into dialogue and cooperation and demands for justice into a commitment of solidarity among peoples.

Our times call for making development a priority for world peace and security by encouraging global policies of financial coordination and free trade with clear and equitable rules; by recognizing nature as an ally in the development of each nation, and the equally shared responsibility of all nations in maintaining global balances; and by deploying information networks to effectively combat drug-trafficking and terrorism, which constitute attacks on the security of all. Fundamentally, our times call for the uniting of all our efforts, in democracy and freedom, to reduce poverty in the world.

Otherwise there can be no possibility of peace and no lasting security.

These new imperatives express not only enormous needs but also the aspiration for the equality of nations in the building of a future that will hold promise only if it belongs to all of us. That is the meaning of "international community" as embodied in the Charter of San Francisco: a future that no one has the right to deny to future generations.

Today, as then, peace can be preserved only through the observance of law; today, more than in the past, security requires the greatest development of every nation, every country, so that together we can make a reality of the hope for a common future. The United Nations - our Organization - continues to be the forum *par excellence* for the achievement of those noble goals.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the United Mexican States for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Carlos Salinas Gortari, President of the United Mexican States, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Henri Konan Bédié, President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire.

Mr. Henri Konan Bédié, President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, His Excellency Mr. Henri Konan Bédié, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Bédié *(interpretation from French)*: Each year's session of the General Assembly provides us with an opportunity to take a panoramic view of the world's great questions and to reflect on the prospects for its future.

For my part, I am honoured to be speaking for the first time in this Assembly as President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire. This experience is all the more stirring for me since I am returning to this lofty site of modern history where I participated in numerous sessions when I was my country's young Ambassador in Washington to the great American nation. My vivid memory of those years is of having all alone represented my country on the day of its admission to the community of sovereign nations through the Security Council. That was 34 years ago.

I am equally proud that you, Mr. President, a worthy son of Côte d'Ivoire and of Africa, are presiding over this forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. My pride is shared by the entire people of Côte d'Ivoire, on behalf of which I extend warm congratulations on your noteworthy election to this prestigious post.

This election attests to the confidence and esteem which you enjoy in this forum thanks to your qualities as an experienced diplomat and to your great knowledge, acquired over more than two decades, of international relations, in particular in Geneva and New York. It also expresses recognition of the balanced pragmatism with which, for 34 years now, Côte d'Ivoire has been conducting its foreign policy.

I am therefore convinced that you conduct the work of this session with competence and skill.

Mr. President, allow me to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Samuel Insanally, for the outstanding work he accomplished throughout his mandate, as well as all the members of his General Committee.

Finally, on behalf of my delegation and in my personal capacity, I should like to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of our Organization, for his courageous action and his tireless efforts for peace and for understanding among peoples. We should like to assure him once again of our full confidence and of our total support in his quest for peaceful solutions to the problems the world is experiencing.

May I also take this occasion to voice, on behalf of all citizens of Côte d'Ivoire, our deepest, most sincere gratitude to the eminent representatives of the States gathered here for the outstanding demonstration of friendship and solidarity shown toward my country at the time of the death of President Félix Houphouet-Boigny.

The tribute to his memory in this very Hall, on 9 December last, and the moving expressions of sympathy on the day of his funeral, 7 February 1994, will remain forever enshrined in the collective memory of the citizens of Côte d'Ivoire.

I am gratified to take this opportunity solemnly to assure the international community of my determination to pursue the policy of openness and the search for peace begun by my illustrious predecessor.

The end of the Cold War had given rise to hope for fruitful relationships based on peace and on shared economic and social development. Now there is general astonishment at the fact that the world, which the United Nations is destined to serve, has entered a stage of uncertainty. No one imagined that the fall of the Berlin Wall, whose symbolism marked the beginning of those great changes that we have been witnessing since 1989, would expose such serious defects, which today are making their appearance in the most untenable forms in human relations. In fact, we are ashamed at the idea of being witness to political, ethnic and religious tensions and armed conflicts that we believed belonged to a bygone age.

The painful examples of the former Yugoslavia, of Angola, Burundi, Liberia, Rwanda and Somalia show us the intensity of the tragedies that we are experiencing.

As concerns Liberia, the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement of 25 July 1993 is encountering difficulties on the ground. Indeed, aside from the difficulties which occurred in the establishment of institutions and the formation of the transitional Government, this Agreement has come up against the sensitive issue of the disarmament of the factions. That disarmament was the precondition for the elections originally planned for 7 September 1994.

Unfortunately, out of a force assessed at approximately 60,000 troops, only 3,000 soldiers of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy (ULIMO) and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) have laid down their arms since the first days of the disarmament operations. Since then, the proliferation of factions and mutual distrust have frozen the positions. We hope that the agreement just concluded in Ghana on 12 September 1994 will experience a better fate, leading to general elections and to the exercise of democracy in Liberia.

It is well known that Côte d'Ivoire has made great efforts for years now to find a peaceful solution to this conflict, which has repercussions of all kinds in the subregion, especially in my country.

As to the tragedy in Rwanda, despite the burden of the Liberian conflict on our economy, we are ready to participate, as long as we receive the necessary logistical support, in the efforts of the international community to restore peace in that ravaged country. Here we should like to hail the courageous initiative undertaken by France to render humanitarian assistance to all those who have fallen victim to this tragedy.

Other actions, particularly those undertaken by our Organization and other Member States within the framework of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) also deserve our encouragement.

Concerning all hotbeds of tension, be they on the African continent or elsewhere in the world, we launch the same appeal for peace, tolerance and understanding. As my illustrious predecessor, the late Félix Houphouet-Boigny, used to say, a hungry man is not a free man. These social and political difficulties that have arisen in a number of States are caused for the most part by misery, extreme poverty, hunger, fear, injustice, exclusion, ignorance and intolerance. That is why, now that the Cold War is over and the fiftieth anniversary of our Organization is fast approaching, Côte d'Ivoire would propose to this Assembly that 1995 be proclaimed the International Year of Universal Solidarity.

Every man and woman should not only eschew tribal, religious, political and ideological hatreds, but should also contribute individually and collectively to the campaign against hunger, disease, ignorance and in favour of the implementation of the ideal of shared welfare.

While the world continues to rend itself apart, several particularly positive events are genuine sources of satisfaction and give grounds for hope.

In this regard, it gives me great joy to extend, on behalf of Cote d'Ivoire, a warm and fraternal welcome to the South African delegation. As I did in Tunis during the thirtieth Summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate to President Nelson Mandela our sincere congratulations on his outstanding and historic election to the presidency of a democratic and multi-racial South Africa.

Another reason for satisfaction is the Middle East, with the signing in Washington on 13 September 1993 of the Gaza-Jericho autonomy agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), whose implementation began with the arrival in Palestine of President Yasir Arafat and the formation of the first Palestinian Government.

May I here hail the Israeli and Palestinian builders of this process, as well as all those who encouraged this event, which was welcomed unanimously. We also extend our best wishes for the success of this great and noble enterprise and we hope that this highly sensitive region of the Middle East will enjoy a just and lasting peace.

Now more than ever, the world needs peace to release the energies mankind needs to flourish. That is why democracy, perceived as one of the ways to guarantee freedom, promote private initiative and the participation of all citizens in development, is something I particularly cherish.

In this regard, my Government and I have decided, as a priority in Côte d'Ivoire, to promote genuine political pluralism and the strengthening of democratic institutions, while guaranteeing their proper functioning, for in our times democracy is irreversible and is an imperative for all of human society - and our prestigious universal Organization itself is no exception.

Hence, discussions begun several years ago on the restructuring of some of its bodies, in particular the Security Council, seem to us timely in providing broader representation for Member States without, however, damaging its effectiveness.

Moreover, in October 1995, the international community will commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of our Organization. This will provide an opportunity to proceed to a review - in our judgement, positive - of this institution to which mankind owes so much. It will also be the time to recall that the founding fathers had risen up against the injustice of unequal development. They foresaw its tragic consequences which, unfortunately, we note today.

Efforts to establish greater justice in international economic relations have not yielded the expected results, and there is now an exponential increase in the gap between the developed and the developing countries. While the former continue to enjoy continually rising standards of living and welfare, the latter, on the contrary, are now experiencing a more serious deterioration of their economies - if not generalized impoverishment. The growth rates noted in some of these countries cannot conceal or substantively reverse this deplorable trend.

The frontiers of poverty in Africa, as elsewhere, can be made to recede only if the international community and, in particular, the United Nations rethinks the machinery for international cooperation and firmly commits itself to promoting development in these countries.

The economic and financial crisis Africa continues to experience since the beginning of the 1980s has led to a setback in growth in nearly all of the countries of the continent. Nearly all these countries' economic parameters and indicators are today negative despite all the bold recovery and economic restructuring measures that have been undertaken.

That is why we call for ever closer solidarity between North and South, by which I mean a real partnership taking into account their genuine interests in an international economy of sharing.

Did not the international community very early on grasp this need for complementarity and solidarity by advocating as long ago as 1974 a new, more just and equitable international economic order?

Faced with geopolitical upheavals and new formations of economic blocs, and given the severe trials which have struck them specifically, the African States demonstrated their joint will to integration by signing the Treaty creating the African Economic Community on 3 June 1991 in Abuja. The Treaty entered into force on 3 June 1994, and this demonstrates our determination to cope with these problems.

However, all our efforts will be in vain without a favourable international economic environment and substantial support by the international community.

For its part, Côte d'Ivoire, sorely tried by the economic crisis of the past few years, has, since 1981, engaged in several successive programmes of structural adjustment. These sacrifices, which followed 20 years of sustained economic growth, clearly highlighted the need to make further use of the abilities of our nation in the creation and implementation of a development policy.

The economic reforms undertaken under the aegis of international institutions have called for significant efforts by the rural sector on which our development was based, without granting it social investments on a proportionate basis.

The change in parity of the CFA franc, which took place at the beginning of this year for 14 African countries, is aimed at guiding the national economy toward exports in order to achieve an economic take-off. This return to growth cannot be accomplished without the appropriate integration of the concerns of the various social groups.

Côte d'Ivoire is considered one of the African countries that have made the most significant human investment during the first years of independence. On the average, almost 7 per cent of its gross national product has been devoted to education. In our subregion, it remains the country with the greatest number of personnel with higher education in all areas of economic activity. It is therefore incumbent upon us to proceed to an appropriate use of our human resources as the *sine qua non* for new growth and development.

That is why it is important that increased efforts be made and that the appropriate means be provided to strengthen the campaign against the terrible scourges afflicting various regions of Africa that are dangerously jeopardizing the future of our societies. Malaria, the traditional affliction of our continent, and AIDS, which appeared a decade ago and whose brutal force is well known, are today the most significant of the epidemics crippling Africa, which nevertheless aspires to development and makes no secret of its determination to succeed.

If we look at the past three decades, we see an African continent that has gone from a period of growth to one characterized by a constant decline in productivity, a general exacerbation of the problem of poverty and the weakening of social parameters - in short, a progressive deterioration of the economic situation.

The international community, it must be said, has not abandoned Africa. On the bilateral level and in multilateral bodies, policies have been devised to cope with the specific situations experienced by the countries of our continent. These efforts are commendable, for they are a concrete demonstration of an all-important human solidarity.

But the world is changing, and Africa knows that it must, through its own abilities, win its own place in world trade and play an outstanding role commensurate with its immense potential. It is aware today more than ever of its assets as well as of the challenge posed by its nearly marginal position in relation to other regions of the world.

It will know how to take advantage of the many opportunities open to it by relying first and foremost on the will of its peoples, their intelligence and creativity, and their capacity for reflection and initiative, in order to participate in the drafting and implementation of long-term development policies. It will also rely on the rest of the international community, its indispensable partner, to create new forms of active, mutually beneficial solidarity implemented in full respect for the dignity of all participants.

Of course, problems remain. Some, linked to the recent past, such as the problem of debt, seem to be obstacles to the development of new initiatives. The international community and friendly countries must understand that indebtedness, which is designed specifically to ensure a country's development, should not be turned against it and transformed into a deliberate restraint on its growth. Solutions to this problem have already been put forward; all have the potential to promote a return to growth and renewed forms of cooperation.

But Africa must turn its attention to new challenges. It must, for example, consider how to preserve and protect its environment in order to ensure present and future generations an adequate and healthy framework in which all forms of life can develop in harmony. It must take advantage of the great potential of recent agreements on the organization of world trade in order firmly to integrate itself into the flow of global exchanges. As the continent most blessed with reserves of raw materials, it must master the technology to adapt them to its needs. That will be the basis for its true resurgence. It has long been aware of all these imperative needs. Through successive steps, particularly by regrouping on the subregional and continental levels, it has begun to acquire the means necessary to its reawakening.

Africa will succeed. It will succeed in warding off the dark fate that seems to loom over it. It will succeed in ridding itself of underdevelopment in order to be a positive participant in the immense task of building a prosperous future for all humanity.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the

President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Henri Konan Bédié, President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Agenda item 9 *(continued)*

General debate

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland, His Excellency Mr. Heikki Haavisto, on whom I now call.

Mr. Haavisto (Finland): Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this forty-ninth session. I am confident that with your long and intimate knowledge of the United Nations we shall come to a successful conclusion of this session.

Since we met a year ago, the world has witnessed both positive and negative developments. The latter deserve the particular attention of this Assembly. Nevertheless, let me begin by referring to some of the positive ones.

One major development is the progress that has been made toward peace in the Middle East. The seemingly impossible is turning into reality. The United Nations must now be available to the parties concerned in the search for a comprehensive settlement in the region. It must also assist in the process of peace building and reconstruction.

The Government of Finland welcomes the return of South Africa to the General Assembly, now with the credentials of a free, democratic and non-racial Member State. South Africa has the full potential of becoming a stabilizing political and economic force in Africa. It has already made a positive contribution to world security by abolishing, under international verification, its nuclear-weapons programme.

In the immediate vicinity of Finland, the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia and Latvia has put an end to one of the painful legacies of the Second World War. I am confident that the remaining problems in the relations between the Baltic States and Russia will be solved in the same spirit as that which helped resolve the issues of troop withdrawals.

My Government also welcomes the cease-fire in Northern Ireland declared by the Irish Republican Army. We hope that this will facilitate an early and lasting solution acceptable to all.

There are also encouraging signs in the world economy, particularly regarding the multilateral trade system. It is now urgent to implement the results of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, including the establishment of the World Trade Organization. Other issues on the trade agenda, such as trade and environment, also need to be addressed.

These positive developments to which I have referred have one thing in common: they would not have been possible without courageous leadership. They illustrate the fact that patient and visionary leadership is necessary in solving problems facing the international community.

Turning now to negative developments, there are still many conflicts that neither the parties concerned nor the international community have been willing or able to solve. The abhorrent tragedies in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Somalia have caused suffering to millions of innocent people. They are frightening examples of our inability to act when national leadership fails and intra-State conflicts threaten international peace and security.

The Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, but it cannot - nor should it - act as a substitute for the Member States or their Governments. It is a dangerous and fallacious impression that the United Nations could or should always step in to rectify irresponsible actions and policies, nor can it be expected to be present forever in conflict areas. It is also obvious that the United Nations will never be in a position to dispose of enough resources to meet all demands.

We must seek new ways and approaches. We must be able to prevent fires before they start. Too often, conflicts erupt because of a lack of preventive action and misperceived faith in the readiness and the ability of the United Nations to step in. It is clear that preventive measures should be given a greater role in the Organization's work on conflict resolution.

In the present United Nations peace-keeping system, political oversight, planning and military command and control need to be improved and the budgetary system

streamlined. Moreover, we are increasingly challenged by complex emergencies, which include political, military and humanitarian concerns. These cannot be addressed through traditional peace-keeping efforts alone. They require a comprehensive approach and sustained efforts by the States concerned, as well as the assistance of regional arrangements and organizations.

Today, economic, social and humanitarian problems can be discussed without the veil of ideology. We can now address issues such as poverty, population, social justice and human rights without engaging in a contest of competing social systems. The linkage of world peace with economic and social development, with the rule of law and respect for the rights of the individual, is now increasingly accepted. The concept of security has widened. It now comprises not only military and political factors but also, *inter alia*, the human aspect and the needs of the individual as well.

We have taken important decisions at Rio on environment, at Vienna on human rights and at Cairo on population policies. Next year we shall meet at Copenhagen for the World Summit for Social Development and in Beijing to enhance the empowerment of women. In 1996 the second Habitat Conference will convene at Istanbul. Those conferences should lead to a better understanding, and ultimately acceptance, of the new concept of sustainable human development. The Secretary-General's Agenda for Development should complement the process, and outline the role of the United Nations in the larger context of improved global governance.

In this wider perspective the promotion and protection of human rights is crucial. The results of the World Conference on Human Rights held at Vienna must be put into practice. I am convinced that the High Commissioner for Human Rights will ensure that the promotion of human rights is included as an integral part of all activities of the United Nations.

In 1992 the Security Council, unanimously and at the highest political level, stated that the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction constituted a threat to international peace and security. The Council thus affirmed the fundamental norm first established by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) a quarter of a century ago. The almost universal adherence to the NPT demonstrates that the world now shares a common interest in its continued existence. Finland believes, as do many other States parties, that the existence of the NPT must be secured through its indefinite and unconditional extension next year.

I have referred to the challenges to the United Nations. Perhaps the greatest concern today is the lack of commitment to the Organization by many of its Member States. Without the full commitment of all of us, the United Nations cannot assume its role as a centre for international conciliation and cooperation. This is demonstrated by the financial situation of the Organization, which is very critical. Member States - and I refer particularly to those which face no constraints on their capacity to pay - must change their attitudes and pay forthwith and in full their assessed contributions and their arrears. Otherwise, this Organization will not be able to function.

Finland has always paid its contributions in full and on time. So have some others, but regrettably few. Now we must all accept a strict budgetary and financial discipline. Breaches of this discipline must be sanctioned. Payment of interest on arrears should become standard practice and should be enforced. At the same time, of course, we must demand that the United Nations pursue its ongoing administrative and financial reforms.

As the United Nations embarks on its second half-century, the circumstances are essentially different from those which prevailed for most of the first 50 years. It is therefore important to reshape our Organization to meet the challenges of tomorrow, not those of yesterday.

The work done on the reform of the Security Council during the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly was very useful. We need now to continue that work and to arrive at conclusions acceptable to all. We need to ensure the continued efficiency of the Security Council, while making its composition better reflect today's realities, such as the increasing responsibility, *inter alia*, of Germany and Japan, in world affairs.

As we approach the fiftieth anniversary of our Organization, we should build on the solid foundation of the Charter. Our priorities should be to focus on prevention and peace-building in securing peace and stability, and also on sustainable human development in order to bring about security at the individual level; and to restructure our Organization to achieve better global governance.

These priorities should guide our joint efforts as we approach the next millennium - "United for a Better World".

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Salah Dembri.

Mr. Dembri (Algeria) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: Sir, your election to preside over the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly is a timely tribute to your outstanding professional and human qualities. It also reflects the high regard in which your sister country, Côte d'Ivoire, is held due to the sagacity and level-headedness which it has shown in rising to the challenges of its national destiny and in performing its role on the regional and international levels. Your election is also a tribute to our continent, Africa, which this year sent to the international community a message of hope through the emergence of the united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, which was solemnly welcomed to our ranks here a few months ago.

Your predecessor, Ambassador Samuel Insanally, added to his prestigious career an outstanding performance in discharging his mandate, effectively and authoritatively. To him we extend our best wishes in his future activities in the service of Guyana, the Third World and the international community as a whole.

To the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, I should like to reiterate Algeria's support of his efforts to strengthen the role of our Organization as the crucible for international action toward peace and development.

As we move toward the end of a century which has made us aware of the global threats to peace, we stand in need of a collective response, a new kind of political thinking and an elucidation of the stakes involved in order for us to better grasp the challenges that face the community of nations today.

Given the heterogeousness of players and the complexity of strategies, the present global disorder seems to be shaping a new order of things wherein the various strategic, economic, political, cultural, social and ecological spheres tend to move closer together. This means that in the highly fluctuating and fluid situation of the world in which we now live, the international order makes it more difficult to coordinate the practices of States and is forcing improvisation and an absence of logic on the initiatives of the international community. Hence the international order's penchant to find balance only in heavy-handed tendencies that shape the future of peoples and of nations.

Therefore, it is urgent to remove those ambiguities that are preventing the international community from moving toward becoming the master of its own collective destiny. In this respect, the United Nations, the repository of human hope and the receptacle of human fears, has a particular and important role to play as it represents an irreplaceable forum for dialogue and concerted action.

Because it is also the vector of a vision of change that would bring the course of international relations into line with the purposes and principles of the Charter, the United Nations must find in the convergence of wills the motivation likely to advance our collective action toward new horizons of peace, and of universally and equitably shared security and prosperity.

The possibilities offered by the ending of the cold war and the profound changes in the international system have favoured new modes of interaction. We note here that the streamlining of international interaction and of social and economic dynamics has highlighted inequalities and is shaping and reshaping constellations of forces that are beyond the rules of the world system.

These manifestations of ambivalence and rupture are cause for concern. They foreshadow a disturbing redefinition of the global balance through a reshaping of the destiny of numerous peoples and nations that are faced with insecurity and injustice.

The arduous progress of the international community toward building a global order whose norms of functioning and laws of development would benefit from universal acceptance clearly requires a new impetus to ensure control over the changes that are taking place and to integrate them into an orderly conception of transition.

Thus a security brought about by disarmament and an agreed-upon and fully assumed solidarity that give meaning and content to the Agenda for Peace and an Agenda for Development as well as the results expected from the first World Summit for Social Development would carry this promise by offering a framework and a *raison d'être* for a healthy remobilization of the community of nations in tackling the next millennium with the guarantee of a better future.

The Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, who, in their efforts, identify themselves with the persistent quest for such a future, naturally and more than ever manifest their interest and willingness to engage resolutely in an effective and equitable partnership which would mobilize energies in the service of this great endeavour. My country will spare no effort in making its contribution.

Nearly 40 years ago, on 1 November 1954, Algeria undertook to stamp its own history with the seal of the principles and objectives of the United Nations through its struggle for liberation which it waged under the banner of the equality of peoples and of their right to self-determination.

As an active member of the Organization and one that has been involved in the realization of so many achievements which brought honour to the United Nations, Algeria has continually reiterated in this forum the aspirations of its people which are the same as those of so many other peoples whose experiences and identity it shared. Whether it be a question of decolonization or of development, of disarmament or of human rights, of the democratization of international relations or of the actual functioning of the Organization, Algeria has joined its voice and its efforts to all those of good faith in setting its stakes confidently on the capacity of the international community to transcend conditions of expediency in order to harness the great surges of consensus and universal mutual assistance.

It is this same spirit which has ceaselessly motivated the specific actions of my country within the framework of the solidarity and cooperation of Maghreb, of the Sahelian-Sahara, of Africa, and of the Arab and Muslim world as well as in the Third World and the Mediterranean basin.

In that context, Algeria is fully aware of the significance, the scope and the effects, in its immediate area and beyond, of the profound work of national renewal in which it is currently engaged with a great deal of faith and determination. It is also aware of the sacrifices involved, for its own sake as well as for others.

As during the November Revolution, which roused awareness and freed creative energies, today it there is a need to break with other forms of behavior and other burdens, in order to anchor a young and ambitious society in progress and modernity through pluralist democracy, the valorization of the elements inherent to the national character and the realization of universal ideals of social justice and collective development.

The restoration of political stability, the consolidation of a State of law and order, the relaunching of economic growth which generates wealth and well-being, are a necessary step in the multi-dimensional actions of the authorities responsible for the period of transition during which the inner resources of the citizens and the intangible principles of the Republic must converge so that the open political dialogue currently being conducted by the President of State, Mr. Liamine Zeroual, may culminate as soon as possible in the resumption of a pluralist, healthy electoral process, that would express the popular will in a spirit of full sovereignty.

It is in this spirit of determination and consistency that the resolute battle of Algeria against violence and terrorism - both in their manifestations and in their causes - is inscribed. This necessary campaign derives from the State's obligation to ensure, foremost among Human Rights, the protection of the fundamental right to life. It implies that we bring to bear the same vigour in our collective denunciation of all governments who prove guilty of inciting and supporting terrorist violence or who display willingness to engage in selective steps to prevent the international community from implementing a counter-strategy.

This year, Algeria has the privilege and the responsibility of coordinating those Institutions engaged in the building of Maghreban unity. In carrying out this mandate which for Algeria represents a genuine commitment to act in the service of all the peoples of the region, we are engaged in consolidating gains and promoting new initiatives while keeping in perspective, given the historical juncture in which they occur, the scope of certain difficulties, both indigenous and exogenous, which impede progress toward the objectives of the Arab-Maghreb union.

Among these difficulties is the particular situation in which Libya has been put, namely that of being unable to play its role in the valorization of regional complementarities and in contributing to the economic and social expansion of the region.

One must hope that the constructive proposals of Libya for the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council will enable it to quickly achieve a peaceful and just solution to outstanding questions as well as to the lifting of international sanctions which have a negative impact on the living conditions of our Libyan brethren.

Similarly, the people of the Western Sahara, whose legitimate national aspirations it would be futile to hide, await the scrupulous completion of the joint mission of peace of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The holding of a fair and impartial referendum for self-determination in conformity with the settlement plan agreed upon by the two parties and endorsed by the Security Council is one of the primary responsibilities of the United Nations, under the Charter and under the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. No adverse factor should stand in the way of the discharge of that responsibility.

A just and lasting solution to the question of the Western Sahara is also an important component of the peace and stability of the region as a whole. It is also inherent to the achievement of the liberation of the African continent. This is why Algeria is encouraging the United Nations Secretary-General to ensure credibility and the utmost probity in the implementation of the settlement plan while increasing efforts to have the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front create a political dynamic which can overcome all difficulties in the implementation of the referendum process and beyond.

It was thanks to such a political dynamism that South Africa honoured its rendezvous with history, to the satisfaction of all, and that the United Nations was able to play a positive role - something that Algeria welcomes and finds gratifying. Apart from such specific elements, the peaceful dismantling of apartheid in South Africa is also an example for other African nations that are being torn asunder by fratricidal strife.

With the continued assistance of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations, Burundi and Rwanda should be able to overcome the tragic circumstances that have beset them and to opt for harmonious coexistence among the elements of their respective peoples, with a view to mobilizing their energies in the service of national unity, democracy and reconstruction.

The return of peace and concord in Angola and Mozambique, in line with the agreements concluded and in answer to the popular will freely expressed, should finally enable those two brotherly peoples to heal the wounds of past years and to contribute to making southern Africa a region of prosperity.

Thanks to the effective participation of the countries of west Africa, the situation in Liberia is moving toward a lasting solution, to which all parties must feel committed if the country is to be secured against a recurrence of violence and instability.

The conflict in Somalia continues to be cause for serious international concern. The international community's important presence in the field has had satisfactory results in terms of humanitarian assistance and of reduced tension. The time has come for all the Somali factions to work toward facing up to the challenge of coexistence and national reconciliation in line with their people's legitimate aspirations.

Starting with the Madrid Conference, the Middle East has embarked on the path of negotiation with a view to building a comprehensive just and lasting peace in that sensitive area of the world which has endured terrible bruising and suffering. Over the past year, important steps have been taken on the road to peace, through the conclusion of the Palestinian-Israeli and the Jordanian-Israeli agreements. Algeria hails the conclusion of those agreements and expresses the hope that these first steps will be consolidated through effective and scrupulous implementation of the provisions agreed upon and that they will quickly be followed by significant breakthroughs that meet the legitimate expectations of both Lebanon and Syria.

The edifice of peace in the Middle East has solid and positive foundations in international legality, and it is important that in the building of that edifice care should be taken to make it a structure of permanent validity and comprehensiveness which future generations would accept fully. Clearly, return of all the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, including Al-Quds al-Sharif, and implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are prerequisites which should be at the heart of the desired settlement.

Algeria, which participates in the multilateral working groups that emanated from the Madrid Conference, will continue to work with conviction for maintaining the unity of the Palestinian and Arab ranks with a view to consolidating the parameters of peace.

The unity of Arab ranks, which has been affected by the consequences of the Gulf war, is an essential prerequisite of the peace which the international community encourages and supports in the Middle East. From that point of view, an ultimate improvement in

relations between Kuwait and Iraq, on the basis of international legality and with respect for the principles of independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, the non-use of force or of the threat to use force, and non-interference in internal affairs, is an imperative. Now that the geographic framework of coexistence and peaceful neighbourliness between the two countries has been internationally enshrined, our hope is that the unresolved humanitarian issues will be satisfactorily resolved so that an atmosphere of reconciliation may prevail and lead to concrete steps in that direction. The economic sanctions that are causing such suffering to the Iraqi people should be lifted, not only because the Iraqi authorities have cooperated in implementing the Security Council's resolutions, but also because keeping the sanctions in place will be seen as a manifestation of indifference toward a people in danger.

In the same spirit, I should like to reiterate Algeria's support for the reestablishment and preservation of the sovereignty of the United Arab Emirates over the islands of Abou Moussa, Greater Tumb and Lesser Tumb, which are still under foreign occupation.

The tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is daily becoming more serious, and which endangers the very foundations of the United Nations in view of what is happening to one of its Members, is a horrific test of the credibility of the alleged movement, in international relations, toward the reign of law and justice. Welcome as they may be, the developments in international action that have been taking place for a year now as a result of awareness of the horrors of ethnic cleansing and of the inhuman conditions imposed on the Muslim elements of the population such developments have not put paid to the extremism of the activist Serb minority or to its irredentist ambitions which threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In discharging its national responsibility for the higher interests of its people at such a critical juncture in their history, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is assured of the solidarity and support of Algeria.

At a time when the Haitian people and the international community have in sight a peaceful and positive outcome to the crisis that has beset the Republic of Haiti for some three years now, Algeria hopes that peace, stability, democracy and progress will be established in that country.

The twentieth century in the course of which mankind has achieved considerable control over nature through extraordinary scientific and technological advances will, nevertheless, go down in history as the century which failed to meet the need for real and full security for the human race.

The shortening of distances, the interdependence of nations, and the globalization of the economy and of communications, coexist with an untenable inability to wipe out hunger, poverty and numerous epidemics, while the apocalyptic power of nuclear arsenals has exceeded all rational limits.

The end of the cold war has made possible the emergence of a concept of security based on general and complete disarmament and on economic and social levers. It is important that nuclear disarmament be relentlessly pursued and that the few notable results obtained in the reduction of nuclear arsenals by the United States and the Russian Federation be expanded and strengthened by the rapid conclusion of a treaty for a complete ban on nuclear tests.

It is this spirit which has made Algeria work for a new vision of collective security that would be based on general and complete disarmament. Hence, my country's insistence that questions relating to disarmament and to non-proliferation, and therefore to international security, cannot be dissociated from those which relate to economic and social development.

It is also in this same spirit that my country adopts a clear and committed attitude to the peaceful use of the atom. That is why it is an honour and pleasure for me solemnly to announce from this rostrum the decision of Algeria to deposit, during this session of the Assembly, the instruments of adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. By its adherence to that Treaty, Algeria hopes to contribute to the collective enterprise of general and complete disarmament, by means of which the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons must be raised, during its next review, to the level of an effective instrument for disarmament and a tool for the peaceful uses of the atom in the service of development. Moreover, it is important that the Convention banning chemical weapons should enter into force and be fully effective.

Such a challenge imposes itself by the full weight of its imperatives and through awareness of the dangers that face a world in transition and in the grip of turmoil, a world of uncertainty and one which bears powerful seeds of fragmentation.

Clearly the growing gap in development between North and South, which has been particularly exacerbated by the lack of genuine dialogue, shows, with a renewed sense of urgency, the need for the international community to embark on the path of concerted action to take in hand the phenomena of interdependence and, by so doing, to extract the elements of firm cooperative action in the service of development in a spirit of solidarity.

In this context of accelerated globalization of international economic realities, cooperation for development clearly forms the only possible answer to the demands for new global regulation to ensure the conditions for lasting and shared international security.

The message of the United Nations to which the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter are of an unprecedented nature and scope in terms of their concept and extent has encircled the globe and has won for the Organization a degree of participation which brings its membership close to a universality which is worthy of its authority and influence.

The work of restructuring the United Nations system and the debate on equitable representation within the Security Council in this respect provide a valuable opportunity for a close scrutiny of the institutional functioning of the bodies of the Organization as well as a future-oriented overview that takes into consideration the need for democratization and participation in the decision-making process so that all the bodies of the Organization may always enjoy full legitimacy by working on behalf of the international community as a whole.

The revitalization of the United Nations through its liberation from the practices and legacies of the cold war presupposes that an outstanding role be given to it in terms of the conception of global strategies and policies for economic and social development.

The year which lies ahead now before the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations could be put to good use to promote the control and ordered sharing by all countries of the stakes at the end of the century. Thus the international community can find, by acting in solidarity and through concerted action, the springs for a new dynamism of peace and cooperation. What is at stake here is our common future.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.